

The Republican.

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TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Dorchester Gaol, May 18,

Year 3, of the Spanish Revolution.

CITIZENS,
HAVING, I trust, satisfied you that there is nothing pure in the heads of those who call themselves Reformers, and talk about nothing but restoring the purity of the British Constitution, I shall this week enquire into the nature of some delusions which are as incessantly dinned into our ears about the right of property, which, in other words, I will explain to you to mean the right of every rogue or thief to hold what he can once grasp or catch.

If any pity be expressed for the Irish labourer, and it be said that the tithe-gathering Priest ought to leave him some of his potatoes to keep him from starving, there are men who rise with vehemence and exclaim, "Oh! profanation, blasphemy, and sacrilege! will you not respect and protect the sacred property of the Priest?" They assert that the tithes are as much the property of the Priest as the land is the property of the landlord, or as the produce of labour is the property of the labourer.

If it be said again that the debt of the Monarchy and Aristocracy is become so enormous as to render it impossible to collect a revenue equivalent to the payment of its interest and other pensions and sinecures, and a talk be made about reducing the amount, the Fundholder cries out, "You must respect my property even if it starves you: my property is sacred, and your possessions or your labour are pledged to its security. I will not hear any thing about reducing interest or principal; I will have the whole nominal amount, let who will work and starve, or what will be the consequence." The King's taxes are also sacred property, and the amount must be raised whatever sufferings it occasions. Royalty must be splendid both at home and

abroad, and a shew of glitter must be kept up: it is the sacred property of Royalty to be so; and the sacred property of the King to collect taxes for the support of his sacred Majesty, even if he strips naked the individual assessed. There must be show, says Castlereagh, both at home and abroad, if there be no substance.

The King, the Priest, the Pensioner, the Sinecurist, the Placeman, and the Fundholder, all exclaim to the Landlord and the Labourer, "Our property is as sacred as your freehold or your produce; and as a point of honour, your every thing is pledged to pay our demands upon the State, before you venture even to take the necessaries of life:" whilst the luxuries and extravagances of the former increase far beyond the means of supply by even the increased industry of the latter. There is a revenue now extracted from the industry of the country which it cannot bear to be continued: every year renders it less able to meet it, whilst the nominal amount demanded increases as the means of meeting it decreases. This, then, is an unnatural and conflicting state of things, and cannot proceed. There must be checks, there must finally be a total stop to the system, and vain will it be for any of the above-mentioned locusts to prate about the sacred rights of their property. Their property is nothing more than the phantom of corrupt minds, and robberies legitimatized by corrupt powers. It has no moral base, therefore to put a stop to the possession will be an act of morality and not of immorality.

What right has a Priest to his tithes of certain produce? The answer is the right of long-established custom. By what authority was that custom established? Here no other answer can be given than that it originated in fraud, and a delusion upon the ignorant multitude. This, then, is a robbery, and not a right; it is an act of corrupt power which every man has both a moral and a natural right to resist. It is the duty of every honest man to resist the payment of tithes to the Priest, as much as it would be his duty to assist his neighbour in a case of difficulty and distress, to protect his own or his neighbour's property from thieves, or to drive an invading enemy from his house or land. The Priest is his enemy, in every sense of the word, and not his individual enemy only, but a common enemy. The Priest is a beast of prey that destroys but produces nothing, and lives but to keep you in a state of mental terror and unprofitable industry. The Priest can have no right to prospective property, or, in plainer words, the Priest has no right

to tithes of any produce, and should be resisted in his every demand or attempt to take them. Let those who talk about tithes being the sacred property of the Priest shew us how it originated, and if it be said even that my father consented to the payment, I would answer, that the promises of my father are not binding upon me if they tend to my injury. My father may have believed that the dogmas of the Priest were founded in truth, but if I discover the contrary, if I discover that the Priest is an impostor, I am by no moral means called upon to behave towards him as my father did. The Priest of my father's time is not the Priest of my time, and even if it were so, I dispute the right of my father to entail a debt upon me, or to pledge the produce of my labour to pay it. In my own labour I have an individual right. Nature prompts me to provide for my children who cannot provide for themselves, or to assist an aged and helpless parent; but from the follies of my parent, if I can throw them off, I am not bound to suffer, either in a natural or a moral point of view. This is what I will call individual right and individual liberty, and if any person can shew me a better argument than this on the behalf of the Priest I shall be glad to attend to it. His right to be a Priest can exist only by individual or a general sufferance, therefore his right to tithes can exist on no other ground. No man is a Priest to me, because I will not receive him as such, therefore what right can any man have to ask me for tithes of my produce that I have not the moral right to resist if I can? If I am to be told that the Parliament has sanctioned the tithes of the Priest, I answer that I am not morally bound by that Parliament, because, it is a despotic and tyrannical power, unjustly founded, and in no instance expresses my will, or the will of the majority of my fellow-countrymen. That Parliament has no moral right to be in existence, therefore it has no moral right to decree tithes of my produce to the Priest. I may be told that the right or the power is in existence, and that it will make me submit; this I acknowledge, but as an individual, or as a component part of the community, I will resist its decrees in every shape possible, and destroy it if possible.

But this is not altogether the best view of this important case. What is property? The only real and stable property I take to be the produce of industry; every other property is perishable, that alone is imperishable, because like every other thing in Nature, it is constantly renewed. The produce of labour, then, is the only natural property.

Now, let us take an instance, and suppose a farmer to hold a small freehold estate, upon which he raises a certain quantity of corn, breeds and feeds a certain quantity of cattle, and so on. Now, first, the King sends his tax-gatherer to this farmer for the full half of all his produce, as necessary to support his (the King's) splendour and what are called the expences of the State. Now, mind, the farmer has accumulated this property by toil and by anxiety, and he feels a moral and a natural right in its possession ; would it not be prudent, then, for him to ask himself what benefit he receives from this King and this State, that he is required to sacrifice the half of his property to their support ? Is not this King and this State a part of the farmer's affairs, and ought not he to ask himself if that part of his affairs may not be better managed, so as not to sweep away a full half of his whole produce ? Is it right, is it moral, that he should say this is not my business, I must leave this to others who know more about it ? What ! leave it to those who are interested in living in idleness upon your labour ? Well done, Johnny ! If you do not trouble or begin to think about it, the persons to whom you leave it will never do so, but for the purpose of taking more from you. The advocate for the King and the State may say, " We take so much of the produce of this man's labour as is necessary to enable us to rule him, and to preserve to him the rest." Then comes the Priest, or the advocate of the Priest, who says, " We take so much of your property as is necessary to enable us to pray for you, and to provide for your welfare in this, and your happiness in another world." By this time the labouring farmer has but little left, and for that little there is another demand ; the Overseer of the Parish, or the Collector of Rates, comes, and says, " The distress is so great, occasioned by what the King, the State, and the Priest take from you, that the persons whom you would otherwise have employed are thrown upon us for support, and we must have what you have left for that purpose, for these poor injured creatures must not starve because you cannot find them work." So here are the King, the Priest, and the State figuring away in splendour, and making every thing about them, or the circle in which they move, look prosperous, whilst the farmer and his labourers are starving amidst hard labour and a bountiful produce ! Ought not, then, this farmer and these labourers to look into these matters and see if they cannot get them managed better by taking them into their own hands ? Kings and Priests are

but men of the same stamp, the same organization as the farmer and his labourer, and who can shew me why they ought not to toil and labour as well as other men, and live by their own industry?

I lay it down as an axiom, that there is no property so sacred as that which is the produce of the industry of the possessor. The tithes are not the produce of the Priest, and to them he has no right, in them he can have no property. If he takes them it is a robbery. The present state of society renders certain taxes indispensable, but then those taxes ought to consist of the smallest sum that the well regulation of society requires. What is called the National Debt, but which, in reality, is the debt of the Monarchy, the Aristocracy, and the Church, must and will be abolished. As far as what is called the property of the Crown, the Aristocracy, and the Church, will go to defray that Debt, it is just that it should be so applied; but it is both unnatural and immoral that the produce of labour should go towards even paying a shilling of the interest of that Debt. That Debt was not contracted for the benefit of those who labour, but for the aggrandizement of those who do not labour, and as a means of continuing an enormous tax upon the industry of the country. It was contracted to preserve the robberies of Kings, Nobles, and Priests, therefore the only property morally applicable to its payment must be such property as those orders may now hold. The industrious part of the people cannot pay it if they would, therefore a time must come when a stoppage of payment must take place, and the Fundholder may go bawl to those who have robbed him, if they have robbed him, about the sacred right of his property. I will not acknowledge that he has any property in the produce of industry. He lent his money for a bad purpose, and it would be even just that he should lose it all. I would violate every species of property that deprives the industrious man of the means of labour, or of the produce of his labour, whatever it be called. It is right, it is moral so to do. There can be no property so sacred as that which industry produceth, and in this country, at this time, that is the property most violated, and the industrious producer is left almost to starve. Yet, in the midst of this flagrant violation of all just property, the Robbers are crying out, "Our property is sacred and must be protected!" King, Priests, Placemen, Pensioners, Sinecurists, and Fundholders, you have no moral, no natural property in the country. The industrious part, the property-producing

part of the people disown you, and will as early as possible stop your robberies upon them.

Supposing that I had half a dozen sons growing towards manhood, and about to support themselves by labour, have I a moral right to pledge their produce for my benefit? I cannot perceive that I have any such right. The same thing applies to what is called the National Debt, the *fiat* of the nation is at any time a sufficiently moral and just power to extinguish it. The property-producing part of the people, those who now pay the interest of that Debt, have had nothing to do with, nor any benefit arising from its contraction, therefore they are neither bound in honesty, in morality, or in justice to pay a farthing towards it; and that this will be the final resolution of the present generation, I am well convinced.

The futile right of fictitious property cannot be better illustrated than in the following case. Supposing a Bank Company to issue slips of paper, promissory of paying on demand certain sums of money: if I am by any means (whether wise or foolish) induced to exchange my labour or any other property for twenty of those slips of paper, or Bank notes, or if they are given to me for corrupt purposes, I have the right of property in them just as long as I hold them and they continue of any value: but if the credit of the Bank Company fails, if they have not wherewith to give me the value I seek for these notes, these promises to pay, and no other individual will exchange his labour or his other property with me for them, my right of property has ceased in these notes, for as paper they are valueless, and as any thing else I can obtain no exchange for them; and all that can be said is, I am the dupe of this fictitious property; I have been deluded and robbed by the rogues and sharpers who issued it, and first gave it a nominal when it had no real value. This is the case and state of the Fundholder, the Priest, the Placeman who has purchased his office, the Pensioner, the Sinecurist, and even the King. They have no real property in the country, they cannot *justly* expect any industrious man to support their ideal claims, when he has never received any benefit, but perhaps much injury from them.

Away, then, with all talk about the sacred right of any other property but that which is the produce of industry, and to produce which is essential to the well-being of the community. The Fundholders may talk about closing their eyes with horror at the breaking up of the funding system;

but could they, if they were humane and moral men, open their eyes without horror, and witness the distress and misery that funding system occasions ? If the distress to be occasioned by breaking up the funding system were to be greater than that which now exists by its preservation, it may be a question with the philanthropist as to its propriety, but as the existing distress has reached its climax, the abolition of the Debt, the funding system, and all unjust imposts upon the industry of the country, is become absolutely necessary to prevent anarchy and bloodshed, and to place the country itself on a respectable and powerful footing among the other nations of the earth.

Down with the Debt; down with the funding system; down with the tithes; down with all taxes that are not necessary to the well-being of the community: and up ye, the property-producing part of the people—manage your own affairs—govern yourselves by legislators and magistrates of your own choice, and no longer suffer your property, which alone has any pretensions to be called sacred, to be wrested from you by the merciless grasp of the King, the Priest, the Fundholder, the Sinecurist, the Pensioner, and the corrupt Placeman. Do justice to yourselves, and you will command it from others.

R. CARLILE.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE REPUBLICAN."

SIR,
IN No. 17, Vol. V. of "The Republican," James Humphrey professes to prove, and actually to demonstrate, that "matter is not eternal." That, indeed, will be doing something for the accommodation of the Priest of the Church of England and the theologians in general; they may then tune their lyre and sing his praises; for to demonstrate that "matter is not eternal," is what no one has ever yet done: so far from it, that the theologians, both ancient and modern, acknowledge that matter is eternal, in those words, "As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end." Now, if the world be without end, whether it be our earth that is meant, or the whole universe, (as it is all material) then they must believe that matter must be eternal, for how is it possible to conceive that that which has no end can have a beginning? There be some theologians that believe (although they cannot prove it) that matter is capable of annihilation, but that the smallest atom cannot be annihilated without a miracle. However, if Mr. James Humphrey, of

Springdale, can, and will demonstrate to me, that "matter is not eternal," I will give him my vote of thanks, because that will put me beyond a doubt that matter must have been created, and, of consequence, must have had a creator. But this he has not done, with all the chimerical and abstract reasoning made use of in his Letter, dated April 14, 1822. Perhaps your Correspondent will say it is owing to my shallow capacity, or my wilful blindness, seeing it is actually as plain as two and two make four.

It is evident that your Correspondent has a very fertile imagination, and is very ingenious, but is too dogmatical in his assertions. He has undertaken to prove and to demonstrate, that "matter is not eternal." Let us see how he proves it. He says, "that if matter were eternal, its form could never change." This is an assertion which has neither reason nor probability to support it, yet he calls upon you to mark it, and to refute it, bidding you defiance! His next assertion is still more wild and ridiculous—"that if matter were eternal, every grain of sand would be infinite in extension." Next he attacks some of your observations on Dr. Gregory's Letters, which he calls "your infinite variety in matter," expressed thus—"ever varying indestructible matter, which is in itself both Nature and Nature's magazine of endless varieties." This, he says, implies an express and palpable contradiction in terms—that endless varieties is an absolute impossibility! These, he says, amount to a proof, that "*matter is not eternal*;" that to you it is a cutting fact, "that which is eternal can never change." I ask, then, if that which is eternal cannot change, what ideas can he have of his abstract Almighty Power? Surely, he will not deny that to be eternal? But to say that Almighty Power cannot change, implies that it is without motion, and therefore without action, which is a self-contradiction, as much as it limits Almighty Power. Yet he makes his Almighty Power and unlimited necessity to be one and the same, an abstract actor. I will give it you in his own words; where he charges you with making your motion and his necessity one and the same thing, he says, "But my necessity precedes in the order of Nature all existence: but your motion, Sir, follows, or results from, something in existence."

Again—"That which is eternal can never change." To demonstrate which, he says, that if matter were eternal, every grain of sand *would be infinite in extension*. Now, Sir, let us apply this to his abstract eternal Almighty Power being infinite in extension, must be capable of change, for if infinite in extension, he must have filled all space, therefore, under the necessity of contracting himself into smaller compass, in order to admit the existence of immense globes or material bodies which form the universe and all the beings they contain, and which your Correspondent must believe to be the work of that Almighty Power.

He does not sufficiently explain who his abstract Almighty Power is, whether it be a sensible, intelligent Power, or not; in my opinion, he keeps that in the back-ground on purpose to baffle you

or any one that might be disposed to attack his assertion. However, as he professes to be a Methodist, if he be not a hypocrite, he must believe his eternal Almighty to be intelligent; therefore, this abstract Almighty Power must act from motives, and motive must necessitate his will to act: that there must have been a time when he had a will to act, and another period when he had a will not to act, if matter be not eternal; which I think must be to your Correspondent a cutting fact!!!

Now, Sir, to finish my remarks, I will endeavour to illustrate your Correspondent's "grain of sand of infinite extension." As there is no doubt that something has always existed, instead of a grain of sand, we say that matter has of necessity always existed, and is of infinite extension, and within that extension is contained all the variety of bodies and beings, which is of necessity the production of those eternal properties common to all bodies. And here I will define what I think of matter, which is nothing more than a collection of those eternal properties common to all bodies and beings, always in motion, and of necessity existing in those properties. Therefore, I conceive that necessity, matter, and motion is coeval, co-existent, and co-eternal, and must be self-existent, independent, and all-sufficient, to produce all the phenomena which we behold.

Sir, at present I have not time to make further remarks; what I have made they are at your disposal to do with, or make what use you please of them.

I remain yours, &c., a consistent Materialist,

J. B. L.

I have received another Letter from Mr. Humphrey for insertion in "The Republican," insisting that he is not answered, and referring to what he calls his demonstrations that matter is eternal, in his pamphlet. To finish this matter fairly, I promise to print his Letter, to copy all the pages he says I have failed to answer in his pamphlet, and make such further observations as may appear necessary upon the whole correspondence. As I have sent his pamphlet to London as a loan to a friend, I must delay a few weeks until I get it back again. Mr. Humphrey, I perceive, grows angry upon being pressed, therefore I shall spoil his temper altogether by a concluding effort.

R. CARLILE.

Dorchester Gaol, May 12, 1822.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

DEAR SIR,

Oakham Gaol, April 20, 1822.

It is the particular wish of the individuals who assisted me with the under-mentioned, that they should be acknowledged through

the medium of "The Republican" and "Dwarf." You will, therefore, have the kindness to say in your next Number, that I beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following sums:—viz. £1 from the Lynn Union; £1 from the Leeds Union; and £1. 12s. from the Reformers at Leicester.

I must really take shame to myself for not writing to you since my incarceration, but how to excuse myself I know not, for I have found my time fully occupied since my *abstraction* (as my Lord Castlereagh would call it) from home. However, I have now the pleasure of stating, that my health has never been better than at present, and I am in hopes that by pursuing the course I adopted on my arrival I shall continue to enjoy it, notwithstanding the domestic troubles I have had to encounter. About three months since, Mrs. D. lost her father; about a month since, she had the misfortune to break her arm, which has precluded the possibility of her attending to business; and I now understand that my dear little girl is most seriously indisposed.

You saw, I dare say, my advertisement for the publication of a work entitled "*The Truth of the Bible put to the Test;*" which I purposed bringing out in a half-guinea volume, but I find my circumstances are so dreadfully crippled, that I shall not be able to accomplish it in the manner originally intended, so I shall introduce it in one shilling Numbers. The Author's name is Fowler; he was a particular acquaintance and bosom-friend of the erudite Palmer. I do not suppose you ever saw the work. It is sure to be prosecuted; and for that reason I wish to bring it out in a private manner till my liberation, as I don't wish Mrs. D. to encounter any prosecution.

I have in preparation two or three publications which will make the Bigots stagger—" *The Three Impostors; or the Lives of Moses, Mahomet, and Christ;*"—" *The Axe at the Root of the Tree;*" and a republication of Peter Annett's celebrated tract, "*The Resurrection of Jesus considered.*"

You will remember me very kindly to Mrs. C. and Mary Ann; and trusting we shall still live to see our object accomplished,

I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

T. DAVISON.

I take the liberty to print this Letter of Mr. Davison's, as I conceive it will best answer his object in conveying its information to the public. It was not received until the 3d of May.

R. CARLILE.

JOSEPH SWANN.

THE following Letter is from Joseph Swann, under sentence of four years and a half imprisonment, in answer to an enquiry of a Leeds friend as to his real situation, reports having circulated that he was in great distress, and almost perishing for want:—

“ DEAR SIR, “ Chester Castle, March 19, 1822.
I CANNOT be accountable for all that report may say concerning me, however, what statements have gone from this place are true, to the best of my knowledge, and as my situation has been rather trying, I will, in compliance with your kind request, give you a brief statement of my circumstances.

“ In 1819 I was repeatedly arrested and thrown into prison, together with my wife and family. In January, 1820, I was dragged to the Quarter Sessions at Chester to plead to several indictments, one for attending the Public Meeting at Macclesfield, and others for selling “The Republican,” said to contain seditious and blasphemous language, and was sentenced to four years and a half imprisonment.

“ I have weathered through nearly one-half of my sentence, with an irregular and sometimes a scanty support. My health was very precarious for some time, but, thank God, it is at present tolerably good. My family is living at Stockport, and consists of my wife and four children, the oldest ten years of age. They receive some support from the Stockport people, but cannot say how much. I chiefly receive my money through the medium of Mr. Harrison’s letters; but sometimes we receive our supplies separate.

“ If you, Sir, think the publication of this statement necessary, you are at liberty to do with it as you please,

“ And remain, dear Sir, yours sincerely,
“ JOSEPH SWANN.”

Let the Subscribers to “The Great Northern Radical Union” reflect for a moment how much better it would be to support such a man as this and his family, than to buy up the corruptions of the House of Commons, or enough of them to gratify two or three individuals with a seat. Let them place themselves in the situation of this man and his family, look at their scheme for Boroughmongering, and take shame to themselves.

EDITOR.

LEEDS PUBLIC MEETING.

Continued from Page 617.

Mr. MASON then addressed the Meeting as follows:—Gentlemen, I doubt not but all of you will cordially agree with me, in admitting the propriety of the sentiments we have this evening heard, respecting the importance of the liberty of the press and the right of free discussion, for my own part I am perfectly satisfied that they are the most likely if not the only means of emancipating the human mind from the thralldom of bigotry, superstition and priestcraft, and it will be then very difficult if not impossible to tyrannize over a people whose minds are thus emancipated; for God's sake then, Gentlemen, for the sake of liberty, for your own sakes as individuals, for the sake of society and for the sake of every thing which is dear to you exert yourselves to the utmost in behalf of these invaluable rights. And now, Gentlemen, permit me to speak a word or two on Mr. Brayshaw's remarks respecting the utility and propriety of petitioning in favour of suffering patriots, I dare say that I think no higher of the honourable house than that Gentleman does, but when our friends are suffering and unjustly suffering too, we ought not to neglect any means which afford but a glimpse of a possibility of alleviating such suffering, and I think that petitioning in this instance affords such a possibility. We have heard of individuals being plundered by robbers who have succeeded in praying their plunderers to return them a small portion of their property, and should any of us meet with a similar disaster, doubtless we should try the same expedient and especially if we should fall into the hands of a gang who made pretensions to humanity and honour. For the sake of their credit they might be induced to give us back a little, and if a general outcry was raised against them, policy might then induce them to return us a portion least they should be compelled to part with it all. If then in a case of this kind, petitioning might avail, surely we may indulge the hope that in petitioning the honourable house in favour of our suffering countrymen, that we shall not always pray in vain. We have seen in the case of Mr. Hunt it has not been altogether unavailing, as his sufferings have been alleviated a little, and we indulge the hope that they will be rendered still lighter. I have made these remarks by way of combatting the arguments of Mr. Brayshaw against petitioning, and as that Gentleman has so ably advocated the right of individual opinion, I am sure he will bear with me in thus expressing mine; at all events, Gentlemen, I trust we shall all of us use every exertion in behalf of public liberty, and not only corporeal liberty, but also in behalf of the liberty of the human mind, and above all I trust that we shall strain every nerve to alleviate the sufferings of those brave patriots who are now suffering for advocating these invaluable rights.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

RESOLVED, 1. That free discussion and the perfect liberty of the press, on all matters of opinion, are absolutely necessary for the discovery and promulgation of truth.

2. That all attempts to prevent any individual publicly expressing his opinions, are unjust, and give certain indications of a tyrannical disposition.

3. That all punishments inflicted upon any individual on account of his opinions on religion, politics or science, whether those opinions are expressed by public speaking, or by the publication of books, those punishments are unjust; being directed against the progress of truth and the moral improvement of man. On which account all who attempt by any means to prevent the free expression of opinion are the enemies of the human race, and it is the duty of every friend to humanity, to endeavour to counteract the efforts of such enemies.

4. That Mr. Carlile, by his exertions in behalf of free discussion and the liberty of the press, merits the support of every friend to humanity, truth and justice.
 5. That the confinement to which Mr. Carlile is now subjected, and the enormous fines that have been imposed upon him are unjust and tyrannical.
 6. That the treatment of Mrs. Carlile is highly inhuman, she being confined for two years, for endeavouring in obedience to her husband, to support herself and family by honest industry, after having been deprived of the assistance of her husband by her unfeeling persecutors.
 7. That a subscription be now entered into for the purpose of enabling Mr. Carlile to pay the fines which have unjustly been imposed upon him.
 8. That subscriptions be received at Mr. Byerley's, Brunswick Street, Water Lane; by Mr. Senior, jun., Greenwood Street, Hunslet; Kershaw Crowther, Mr. Man's Yard, Holbeck Lane; Mr. Scholefield Shoe-maker, St. Peter's Square; Mr. Hewson Shoe-maker, Marsh Lane; Mr. Gill No. 4 Water Lane Bank; Mr. James Man's shop, Briggate; and by Mr. Watson, Treasurer, in his room, every Wednesday evening at eight o'clock; and on Sunday evening at six o'clock; and that the acting Committee for Mr. Carlile's subscription, be empowered to nominate persons to collect subscriptions until his fines are paid.
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TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

FELLOW CITIZEN,
I AM desired by your friends in _____, to forward to you one pound, being our sixth subscription, and still heartily determined to continue our exertions on behalf of you and your very much persecuted family.

The cause you have so bravely and determinedly undertaken is as much our cause as yours, we are, therefore, in duty bound to render you every aid in our power, and grateful thanks for your truly patriotic sacrifices in the cause of genuine freedom.

Your exertions have wonderful effect: if you had lived in the saint making days, and had written as you now write—what more holy work could have been performed for the cause of Christianity, than to unjoint you by piece-meal and burn you afterwards.

You see the stupid quacks of the state, (as it is called) and the cheating hypocrites of the church, are in a dilemma: they are bewildered: they must be *radically released*, for they cannot release themselves.

The leading article of the *Republican*, for a considerable time past, has increased the admiration of your friends, and struck terror and despair into our enemies; they feel the effects of your herculean pen. I hope it will induce them to mend their ways.

We hope your Sister Mary Ann, has recovered from the effect of her alarming situation when the Gaol was *accidentally* on fire. Your comments on the above fact, in the *Republican*, is considered by impartial men, to be a fair statement of what then occurred, let any one contradict you if they can.

That Mrs. Carlile, Miss Mary Ann, and yourself may preserve good health, and live to see your enemies brought to justice is the sincere wish of your subscribing friends, and

Your Fellow Citizen,
ROBERT ROBINSON.

TO MR. ROBERT ROBINSON.

CITIZEN AND FRIEND, Dorchester Gaol, May 13, 1822.
THAT the genuine principles of liberty form the surest bond of union, is a fact verified by the full and generous support I receive from you and friends who meet at the

The ground work of popular liberty must be popular knowledge, and the ground work of knowledge is free inquiry and discussion. It is under this impression and with a conviction that my publications, if they do not immediately instruct, at least, stimulate to inquiry, that I flatter myself induces you and friends to yield me your stedfast support. It is upon this principle alone that I can hope to deserve it.

By whatever physical means a pure administration of government shall be obtained in this country; to be kept pure, and strong, and lasting, its basis must be moral virtue, and its form of the most simple kind. The complex forms of many of the old European Governments are like a multitude of useless wheels, and springs, and clogs, in a useful piece of mechanism, introduced for no other purpose but to make it intricate, expensive, and troublesome, slow in its process and ineffectual in its operations; which must be necessarily simplified as the proprietors extend their knowledge and improve their science, for the profit and convenience of all parties. Absolute Monarchy was formerly considered the most simple form of government, and perhaps much the best for an unlettered people: but now almost every man is fit for a legislator, the only simple form of government is become the representative, as alone tending to mutual and general satisfaction and confidence: and from this representative system let us clear away all the useless springs, wheels, and clogs, or, in other words, hereditary legislators and priests: let us begin to think and act for ourselves, and, like prudent men, manage all our own affairs or get them well managed at the least possible expence. The hag Superstition I can perceive from a Gaol is fast receding, but it is yet likely that she may seek revenge where she feels power. Such a monster will be sure to struggle for life to the last gasp. We must follow up our blows upon her filthy carcass and redouble them both in force and number as she grows weaker. The Hag has no moral support, and the distress she brings upon her votaries in these times of increasing knowledge on the one side, and increasing misrule on the other, will be sure to hasten her exit.

My thanks and those of Mrs. Carlile and my Sister, are particularly due to you and friends. My Sister has recovered her right and is improving in health, as the season of the year breaks off some of the severities of her confinement. We have at length obtained the use of two rooms instead of one, which enables us to keep up a better atmosphere to move and breathe in.

I am, Citizen, most respectfully yours,

R. CARLILE.

REFLECTIONS ON MAN AND HIS DUTIES.

WHAT is man but a being of circumstances? Nature sends him naked and destitute into the world, and leaves him to cultivate and render himself a fit object for society. He passes from a state of infancy, expands, blossoms, and brings forth fruit. Man hath been compared to the seasons of the year; the spring his infancy and youth; summer his full state of perfection; autumn his decline, and winter the close of life and death. We see man like all other animals and vegetables, subject to the same laws, from which he cannot deviate for a moment. Is it then not surprising to see man render himself wretched and miserable? O no! you see man refuses to study nature, he is a slave to his own imaginations, and the dogmas of the priest; he quits the only road which can lead him to true happiness, and render him comfortable, to meditate on chimeras, things of which he has not nor can he attain any knowledge; he quits the road of truth and flings himself into a labyrinth of difficulties, out of which he can never extricate himself, he does not cultivate his reason because his priest says that it will lead him into guilt! Poor infatuated mortal dost thou not see that it is the interest of that demon to render thee miserable and lead thee from that path in which true happiness can be found, by representing to thy bewildered imagination that trouble and anxiety in this life will ultimately make thee happy in a world to come. O man! if thou wilt be happy cultivate thy own reason and do not be led astray by the delusions of thy priest, whose only object is to make thee miserable, and rob thee of that which ought to make life desirable. Shun the priest as thou wouldest shun the asp, for he has got the poison under his deceitful lips. If thou beholdest thy fellow man superstitiously ignorant use thy endeavours to render him wise, and represent to him the path of virtue as that alone which can make him happy. Do not fill his mind with fanaticism so as to render him a slave to bigoted error, and lead him to actions injurious to society. Will mankind never see the object of those pests to society? Will they be for ever prevented from searching for those objects most conducive to their own happiness and the welfare of all around them? Will man never contemplate nature and the resplendant beauties she offers to his view? Will

man still refuse her kind embraces? Will he for ever sup the gall of bitterness, when she is so pressing in her goodness and so desirous to render all happy? The moment man quits the path of nature he stumbles into an abyss of difficulties, his imagination leads him astray. Error is an enemy to nature and always prejudicial to man. To this error we may attribute every thing; by this error are the present nations duped into that slavery inflicted upon them by those united enemies of man, kings and priests. Unacquainted with the powers of nature man attributes all the phenomena which he beholds to supernatural agency. Instead of seeking beyond the world he inhabits, for beings who can procure him no happiness, let him study nature—contemplate her energies—observe the immutable laws by which she acts—let him apply these discoveries to his own conduct and submit in silence to her precepts which nothing can alter—let him cheerfully consent to be ignorant of causes hid from him under the most impenetrable veil—let him yield to the decrees of that universal power which can never be brought within his comprehension, nor ever emancipate him from those laws imposed on him by her essence—and finally, let him consider that all beings are subject to this great and universal law. Let him cultivate virtue and morality in himself and others, for virtue is the only means of rendering himself and fellows happy. Let him practice virtue in the sphere in which he is placed, let him set an example to others by doing justice to all, relieving the oppressed and rendering every good which he finds possible. It will be said, and perhaps proved, that under the present constitution of things virtue so far from promoting the welfare of those who practice it, frequently plunges them into misfortune, often places obstacles to their felicity, that almost every where it is without recompence, that in almost every country it is hated, prosecuted and obliged to lament the ingratitude of human nature. The greater number of societies are misled by those whose ignorance makes them abuse their power, and whose prejudices render them enemies to virtue; such rulers, flattered by sycophants, reward those only who are enemies of every noble and virtuous principle, and never accord that justice which is unquestionably its due. Man is happy in having some virtuous men in the most degenerate nations who are sufficiently enlightened to know that virtue exacts homage even from its enemies; he hath advocated the cause of the oppressed, resisted the encroachment of tyranny, and has dared to stem the torrent of corruption.

Return back to nature, O man! and view the beautiful productions set before thee; observe the order with which she governs the great whole, and with what unerring wisdom every particle and atom of which the universe is composed fulfils the object she has in view. Why then should man wander and accuse the decrees of fate, when he is forced to undergo the changes allotted to him like every other production of nature. If man will look into himself he will find that he is a being to whom motion is always necessary, he must therefore always desire it. To feel happiness he must make efforts to obtain it. The multiplied pictures which his imagination forms to him supply his brain with that motion for which it has occasion. Action is the true element of the human mind. An Alexander requires the destruction of empires, nations to be deluged with blood, cities to be laid in ashes to satisfy his false ideas of glory; while a Socrates wants nothing but the pleasure of forming disciples to virtue and humanity. What is so dangerous to the happiness of mankind as false ideas of glory, and men who desire to drench their swords in the blood of their fellow creatures? Let us then use our endeavours to plant the noble quality of virtue in the hearts of every rational creature, represent the benefits to be derived from it, and utterly exterminate from the earth all wars and tumults, and all the delusions of Priests and Kings.

* T. W.

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

Ashton-under-Line, May 14, 1822.

RESPECTED CITIZEN,

IN the name and on the behalf of the generous Republicans of Ashton-under-Line, and its vicinity, I send you, through the medium of Mr. James Wheeler, the sum of £6. 5s. subscribed for the purpose of assisting you in liquidating the enormous and Christian-like fines imposed on you by four Christian Judges, presiding in a Christian Court of Justice, in Christian England, governed by a Christian King, in order to promote Christianity. What an improvement in robbery for a Turkish Bashaw! Generous subscriptions and a rapid and extensive sale of your publications appear to us the most rational mode of bringing you out of thraldom; both these means have been increased in proportion to the rancour of your persecutors.

I am glad to see that *profound metaphysician*, Mr. Humphrey, of Yorkshire, endeavouring to extend your sale greatly amongst a

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new class of customers, namely, the religious class, with whom he congregates to teach and preach, by asserting, he is more and more convinced of the truths of the Gospel in proportion to the number of Deistical works he reads. If he can persuade his hearers of this, it will become a kind of two-edged sword in your hand ; providing the unbeliever, on one hand, with arguments to oppose the Religionists, and, on the other, to strengthen and confirm the Religionists, by encouraging them to read as he reads your publications. But in either case it will be beneficial to you by increasing your sale ; and perhaps this is the means that some of your professed religious friends, (enemies of persecution) intend to use to assist you in liquidating your fines, though some of your old sceptical friends, who have been used to contemplate the meek and humble smile frequently seen on the countenances of the Religionists, while the poison of asps was rankling in their hearts, are apt to doubt their sincerity, as, like the Persian Priest, they have hitherto offered only their prayers and not an asper beside ; knowing likewise that prayers were not admitted sterling currency in the Court of King's Bench, whatever they might be in the Courts above. I am persuaded, that if ever they do any thing effectual towards relieving you, it will be by their prayers, as it is the least expensive process. And if they should get a mandamus from the Courts of Heaven to throw open your prison-doors, I hope you will be as brave as St. Paul, and not come out until the whole of the Vice Society and Bridge Street Gang come willing and with hat in hand to fetch you out. Then, in order to satisfy your captious enquiries as to where Heaven is, I would have them get a further order to send you to the third Heaven of Paul, and if, after seeing "things unutterable," you are so stupid as not still to believe, I would have you sent through the whole of the ninety Heavens of Mahomet, and if you do not then believe in one, the Devil must be in you, and I should then recommend him to take you, when and in what manner he pleases. I have no doubt but a petition to this effect from a few of these pious, praying souls, signed by Judge Bailey, and sent to the Courts above, would be as well attended to as any the Reformers have humbly presented to their legislators.

But to become a little more serious. That you may proceed in the bold and dignified path you have entered, and nobly persevere in assailing Superstition and Priestcraft, and defending and maintaining the rights of free discussion ; and that you may not demean your dignity of mind, whatever others may do, by being warped to the right hand or to the left ; nor by any ambitious desire of popularity, enter into any little and unbecoming bickerings on that account, is the sincere hope and wish of all your friends at Ashton-under-Line, and none more so than yours, respectfully,

CHARLES WALKER.

Subscribers' Names.

	s. d.		s. d.
J. S. a Hater of Superstition, and an Admirer of all those who have the Courage and Virtue to oppose the Inter- ests of Priestcraft	5 0	Edward Hobson	1 0
Three Enemies to Political and Religious Persecution	13 6	Joshua Hobson, a Republican in Politics, a Believer in the Divinity of Mirabaud, a sincere Friend to R. Car- lile, and an avowed Enemy to the whole Host of his Persecutors	1 0
William Mellor	2 6	Sarah Walker	0 6
William Batty	2 6	Ann Clayton	1 0
John Hibbert	2 6	Jonathan Davenport	0 3
T. W. one that thinks the term Methodist synonymous with Fanatic	2 6	John Booth	0 3
Samuel Hibbert	1 6	John Eckersley	1 0
Samuel Aveyard	1 0	Ralph Kebrington	0 5
A Friend to R. Carlile	1 6	Samuel Morris	0 6
John Taylor	1 0	Thomas Foster	0 3
W. A. freely bestows his Mite towards enabling R. C. to defeat the Vice Society and the Bridge Street Horde	2 6	Abraham Matley	0 7
James Higson	1 0	Joseph Edge	0 5
James Cheetham	0 6	John Broadbent	0 4
H. L.	0 8	William Edge	0 5
Samuel Lees	0 6	Samuel Clayton	0 7
R. Higson	0 2	A Friend	0 3
Charles Walker	2 6	Robert Hurst	0 6
Robert Bottomley	2 6	Ernest Whitworth	0 5
James Fletcher	1 6	John Cropper	0 5
James Dransfield	1 0	Robert Williamson	0 5
Thomas Kenyon, an Enemy to all Tyranny	1 0	Josiah Matley	0 4
James Taylor, an Enemy to the Bridge Street Gang	0 6	Richard Smith, a Friend to every Man who endeavours to unshackle the Mind	1 0
An Enemy to all canting Priests	1 0	Samuel Wardle	0 3
J. C. a Friend and Admirer of R. Carlile's undaunted Cou- rage	1 0	William Jones	0 3
Cresswell Baraclough	1 0	Jonathan Tetlow	0 6
John Fletcher	0 6	George Mitchell	0 6
Jonathan Ogden	0 3	Richard Holland	0 3
James Newton	1 0	William Markland	0 6
Joseph Knott	1 0	Thomas Hartley	0 6
Peter Whitehead	1 0	James Hadfield	0 6
George Hurst	1 0	John Buckley	0 6
An Old Painite	1 0	Thomas Fowler	0 4
A Female Convert to Mr. Carlile's Principles	1 0	James Collier	0 4
Samuel Hadfield	0 6	Joseph Hibbert	0 4
Isaac Pendleburg	1 0	James Broadbent	0 2
Alice Kenworthy	0 6	James Boyle	1 0
		John Bell	0 6
		Joseph Travis	0 3
		James Andrew	0 6
		John Whitehead	0 2
		Henry Whitehead	0 2
		John Jackson	0 2
		Richard Ashton	0 3
		William Alldritt	2 6

	s. d.		s. d.
Edward Hall	1 0	Thomas Kay	0 6
Abel Tomlinson	1 0	James Bird	0 6
Thomas Broadbent	1 0	John Broadhurst	0 6
Thomas Pownall	0 6	Thomas Torkington	0 6
J. N. if the Rights of Man must be Extinct, he has not a Wish to survive the Ruin	1 0	From a few Friends of R. Carlile at Stayley Bridge—	
John Lees	0 3	Thomas Cook	1 0
James Bardsley	0 6	John Fletcher	1 0
William Russell	0 6	John Fielding	1 0
Alexander Duke	0 6	Aaron Cheetham	1 0
James Duke	0 6	Joseph Kenworthy	1 0
James Moss	0 3	Jonas Robinson	1 0
Abel Hardy	0 3	Thomas Stanley	1 0
William Taylor	0 3	Henry Faulkner	1 0
Samuel Broadbent	0 4	Jeremiah Marsland	1 0
William Stanley	0 3	James Fielding	0 6
A few Subscribers from New- ton Moor, a small village in the county of Chester, who approve of the conduct of R. Carlile—		Samuel Whitehead	0 6
Edward Hulme	5 0	Abraham Winterbottom	0 6
John Park	5 0	Ralph Tillsley	0 6
Thomas Wood	2 0	William Boardman	0 6
William Bowler	1 0	Lot Lees	0 6
William Shaw	1 0	James Swindells	0 6
Thomson Owen	1 0	John Cook	0 6
George Garlick	1 0	Matthew Cook	0 6
Betty Cauley	1 0	James Ashworth	0 6
		A Friend	0 6
		Samuel Bates	0 6
		Samuel Sidebottom	0 6
		William Swale	0 6

TO MR. CHARLES WALKER, ASHTON-UNDER-LINE.

CITIZEN,
Dorchester Gaol, May 18, 1822.
IN conveying my thanks to the generous Republicans of Ashton-under-Line for this extensive support, I feel the same congratulation I wish to make to them in noticing the wide-spreading knowledge of the importance of sound Republican principles. The ambiguous epithet of *Radical*, as an appellation for certain professed advocates of Reform, is fast receding before that of *Republican*, with a manly avowal of Republican principles, or a System of Government that is thoroughly representative by election to every office, and that shall not recognize nor support any established Priestcraft.

Be assured, Citizen, that the fretful dispositions of those who aspire only to be called Radical Leaders, shall never

swerve my mind from the important task it has undertaken, further than to repel all false imputations and make them recoil upon their authors—a circumstance I know and feel I can effect without neglecting my duty in other respects. I never will commence any thing in the shape of a bickering, nor will I join in any further than is necessary to effect the above-mentioned object. I want none of the assistance of the persons alluded to, although I really wish to see them advance and give it to me, or let me add mine to theirs: I only ask them for fair play; let me proceed quietly, or let my principles be openly and manfully impeached instead of being met with half-expressed, slanderous imputations and private slander. I must, however, caution you and all friends in the North against a trick that I have been informed, from two distinct channels, is playing off against me. It is a profession of persons who are not in my confidence to read private letters as from me, wherein I am made to express myself quite opposite to the sentiments I print in "The Republican." The first tale I heard of this kind was from Yorkshire, and before I could believe it, I received information that a similar thing had been done at Stockport by a person from Manchester, with whom I have broke off all connection for these six months past. Now, I know there is an existing link between the two persons who have been impeached to me as having done this, and I know that they are the express agents of all the schemes to prop the expiring Radical faction in their different districts. I must, therefore, caution all friends against this trick, and I hereby challenge any man to produce a line of private correspondence from me that is not in unison with the sentiments I make public, or that will contradict what I have written to another.

A list of 133 names from Ashton-under-Line, and its vicinity, is a proof that you stand in need of some of the Home Missionaries which the Bourbons and the Guelphs are employing in France and in Britain; as such a glaring falling off from idolatry, connected with the sacrilegious emptying of a church foundation-stone of its pecuniary deposit, is not to be borne with in this Christian land. You were ironical in some parts of your address, but I am serious with you. The very Priest of your church we were lately told was the proprietor of your theatre, and by way of making both profitable, he would announce his performances in one place by denouncing them in another! Is it possible that all this can be true and Ashton-under-Line not be served as Jehovah

served Sodom and Gomorrah? But I presume you have a sufficient number of Methodists and Shakers, Ranters and Quakers, in the town, to appease the wrath of Jehovah, or woe to Ashton-under-Line! If ever I get any thing revealed to me from above, unless I have special orders to the contrary, the first object of my mission shall be the inhabitants of Ashton-under-Line, for most certainly you evince a need of something new there to prevent your running after those *false* Gods called Nature and Reason, and abandoning all those who for so many centuries, by right divine, have ruled with absolute and hereditary sway, and also setting at nought the awful assertion of the first of the family, who said, "I the Lord thy God am a jealous God!" A proof of which the Christians afford us by saying that one of their Gods trepanned the other into an ignominious death from mere jealousy of a third, or the God Satan. Let me caution you to beware how you ask questions about these gentry that cannot be answered, as I see you have done in another place, lest Jehovah be jealous of you, and make you feel his wrath. He is not always to be brought into a repenting mood. Some of your neighbours in Manchester call themselves Bible Christians, and you ought, out of respect to them as neighbours, to have taken care and not have asked them questions they cannot answer.

With a request that you will not bear so hard upon the idolators again, I subscribe myself their opponent, and your obliged friend,

R. CARLILE,

TO MR. R. CARLILE, DORCHESTER GAOL.

May 15, Y. C. W. S. 1822.

RESPECTED FRIEND AND CITIZEN,

I HAVE the pleasure of forwarding the sum of five pounds, being the subscription of a few friends of liberty in Wisbeach, as a further proof of their approbation of your truly patriotic endeavours in the cause of Truth, Liberty and Justice, feeling conscious that to propagate sentiments of whatever kind or nature they may be, by any other means than the use of reason and natural eloquence, amounts to an usurpation of the undeniable rights of man: And that the liberty of the Press is as essential to the well being of society, as is food for the nutriment and sustenance of the body. Convinced as we are that the labours of a man like you, cannot be too highly estimated, nor praise more deservedly bestowed, than upon one whose

indefatigable exertions have raised the standard of liberty beyond the power of bigoted priests or tyrannic despots. Did your ingenious persecutors think by robbing and plundering you of your property, depriving you of liberty, loading you with heavy and enormous fines, they should hush and crush the principles you advocate? If they do, they are greatly mistaken. Do they think because they have locked up the great champion of liberty in a sort of bastile, they can lock up the minds of millions determined to be free? No, it cannot be. The standard you have raised by publishing the invaluable works of the immortal Paine will be rallyed round when corruption's hosts shall have breathed their last. For the many useful publications of your own, you are entitled to all the support the advocates of free discussion can give you. That you may live to see the period when a real Representative System of Government shall be permanently established is our ardent wish, for this must be the basis of any government that has for its object the general good, the national welfare, and prosperity to all. May your exertions in so grand, so noble, and so glorious a cause be ultimately crowned with success, a cause which has for its object the emancipation of the human mind from mental bondage, bigotry, and superstition, on the one hand, and political slavery and degradation on the other. For be assured, Sir, that truth will finally triumph in spite of all the efforts resorted to to check its progress: it will flourish in spite of all the machinations of Vice Societies or Bridge-street Gangs: it must, it will reign triumphant, because it is eternal.

Give our best wishes to Mrs. C. and sister, and assure them we think their conduct highly meritorious.

You will notice this in the Republican as soon as possible, for the satisfaction of your friends whose names are annexed.

For whom I remain your Friend and Well-wisher,

W. C.

THE ADDRESS.

REPUBLICANS.—At a time like the present, when prosecuting Gangs, the agents of merciless and tyrannic bigots, are using every means in their power to suppress every thing like free discussion, and to plunge into a dungeon any individual who is honest enough to speak the truth, and fearlessly to disseminate it, in order to counteract in some degree a power so injurious to the best interests of society, you are called upon to aid by subscription, Mr. Carlile, the persecuted yet zealous and undaunted champion in the cause of Truth and Liberty; for be assured, these prosecutions are not against Mr. Carlile, as an individual, but against the cause and principles he advocates. Seeing this, it is the duty of every friend to the Rights and Liberties of Man to do what he can in furtherance of a cause so truly glorious and praiseworthy.

List of Subscribers.

	<i>£. s. d.</i>		<i>£. s. d.</i>
J. C. one who hates both King and Priestcraft	0 15 0	Susannah Moore	0 1 0
Two Friends of Liberty	1 0 0	A Sunday Subscription	0 2 3
I. R.	0 2 0	J. J.	0 1 0
An Enemy to Priestcraft	0 2 0	John Howard	0 1 6
W. T.	0 2 0	P. J.	0 1 0
A Freethinker	0 5 0	Mr. J. W.	0 1 0
Anti-Bridge-Street	0 2 0	A Female Patriot	0 2 6
No Bigot, but a Friend to Truth	0 5 0	Veritas	0 1 6
John Blanchard	0 3 0	John Clarke	0 0 6
Mildred Blanchard	0 1 0	A Lover of Truth	0 1 0
William Thacker	0 1 0	A Friend to Reason	0 1 0
A Friend to Truth	0 1 0	Do.	0 0 6
One who hates Persecution	0 10 6	Humanity	0 0 6
A Friend to Freedom	0 2 6	A Deist	0 1 0
T. H. an Enemy to Priestcraft	0 1 0	William Clark	0 1 0
A Friend to Free Discussion	0 1 6	Tell	0 0 6
Joseph Moore	0 1 0	Truth	0 2 6
		S. A.	0 1 0
		T. Pain	0 0 6
		Buonaparte	0 0 6
		F. Truth	0 0 6
		A Republican	0 2 0

JOHN BLANCHARD, *Collector.*

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF WISBEACH.

CITIZEN,

Dorchester Gaol, May 19, 1822.

THE extended correspondence and support which daily increases upon me, breaks in like new lights upon my mind, and seems to drive back the walls, bolts, and locks that surround me, so as to make me forget altogether that I am a prisoner. Though the reptiles that have me in safe custody, have done every thing they could to annoy me, and to make my imprisonment severe, their measures have been all counteracted by the steady support the Republicans throughout the country have afforded my mind; for with me "the mind's the man." I trouble but little about the body, beyond an endeavour to keep it in health, and free from pain, as an administration to the comforts of the mind. I am among those who were not framed to captivate personally, so I must get over those defects by trying what I can exhibit mentally.

I am very happy to find that I have scattered some good seed in Wisbeach, and that it hath taken root. A friend who writes me from Canterbury assures me, that my publi-

cations are acting upon the people throughout the country like yeast upon dough, and that the principles I advocate can never again be rooted out without destroying the whole batch, or dough and all. I have daily proofs that such is the effect, and now I begin to feel the effects of what I have done I shall proceed with redoubled zeal. All my enemies stand powerless, for they have at length discovered that the omnipotence of a British Parliament is impotence itself when brought to act upon or controul the mind of a people.

You, Republicans of Wisbeach, have rested upon the pinnacle of political wisdom: you declare that nothing short of a complete Representative System of Government, with free discussion, will suffice to procure prosperity to all, or, in other words, the greatest portion of happiness to the greatest number; which forms the sum and substance of Political Economy.

I rejoice to find those sentiments echoed back to me, for although I was not the first to promulgate them, I have been left almost alone to do it for these last two or three years. It is a ground upon which I have made up my mind to stand or fall; and I will not fall back an inch to meet the views of any man or set of men. I may not meet the accomplishment of my desires, but I have children whom I have no fear will see it fully in practice, and for my own part I am so far from despairing, that I am really cheerful upon the matter, and full of hopes of its speedy accomplishment. There are other causes, besides my press, at work, powerfully at work, in bringing about that event. I verily believe there is not a town or village in the country, but has its Republicans—its true Political Economists.

Republicans of Wisbeach, I return you my thanks for this support, and although I know you have done a full share in circulating the Works of Thomas Paine, I hope you will not relax, but endeavour to extend the boundaries of your exertions, and communicate your knowledge to all whom you may find deficient.

In civic esteem, and the cause of all mankind,

I am, yours, &c.

R. CARLILE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE REPUBLICAN.

A few plain Questions addressed to those Connoisseurs of Revelation, Judge Bailey and Mr. Humphreys, or any others who feel themselves able satisfactorily to answer them :

1. Where were the guardian angels of this terrestrial sphere, or that omnipresent, almighty, preserving and protecting Power which pervades all matter and all space, when Satan got possession of this world ?

2. Did Satan make good his footing by force, by stratagem, or by permission ? If by force, where then was that almighty power ascribed to the Deity ? If by stratagem, where then his infinite knowledge and perspicuity ? But if by permission, how then are mortal finite beings to be accountable to their Creator for the deplorable consequences of that event ? Would it be fair impartial justice for a just, benign and impartial Deity to require it at their hands, seeing their powers, both mental and corporeal, are by himself so nicely limited, that even the issues of a moment are to himself only known to a certainty ?

3. Did not the Almighty know when he created this world and man to inhabit it, that the man he made would not be able to keep the law he imposed upon him ? If you say no, you limit omniscience ; and if you say he did, it may then be asked why he made a law which he before knew man could not keep, and then punish him for not keeping it ? Would that be just ? But if he knew not whether man would keep it or not, it is saying he made a machine, and when he had made it could not tell its powers, inclinations and faculties ; so that which ever way you turn it it appears repugnant to infinite perfection.

4. Man, it is said, created not himself, nor yet sin ; it found him in the world, and proved to be an ingredient inseparable from human nature ; therefore, to punish him for it in an eternal sense of the word, would it not (instead of impartial justice) be indiscriminate revenge ?

5. If sin is displeasing to the Almighty, and Satan be the cause of it, is it not in the power of the Almighty, if he pleases, (like a skilful and wise physician) to remove the cause that the effect may cease ? If you say no, you not only limit the Deity, but deny the infinity of his power ; and if you say it is, it may then be asked why he suffers it to exist ? was it not his desire, will, and pleasure, that it should exist, and what vain mortal will dare to say, " his will shall not be done ? "

That you will insert the above in your valuable publication, in order that it may meet with a rational solution from some of these connoisseurs, is the wish of yours, &c.

Ashton-Under-Line.

CHARLES WALKER.

TO MR. R. CARLILE.

SIR, Manchester, May 2, 1822, of Fanaticism.
HAVING, in one of your Numbers of "The Republican," noticed a Letter addressed to you by Mr. Cobbett, wherein he has made an attempt to injure the American character, by an insult offered to its understanding; as a native of that land of freedom, I feel myself called upon, in justice to my own feelings, as well as to those of my fellow-countrymen, to come forward and confidently declare that Mr. Cobbett's assertions are unfounded. Did necessity require it, I would undertake to prove circumstances that would remove every doubt that might arise in the minds of the unprejudiced part of Mr. C.'s readers, from his Letter; but the well-known liberality of principle in the major part of my countrymen, will render those proofs unnecessary, therefore I will content myself with merely taking notice of one that came immediately under my own observation. About eight years since, while I resided in Charleston, South Carolina, I had the curiosity to visit a Methodist camp-meeting, and witnessed a very warm dispute between several preachers of that connection and some gentlemen; among the latter was an English gentleman, who very ably maintained his side of the question upon the principles of that great man, Thomas Paine. Some allusions having been made to the Bible Society of that place, this gentleman made them a present of a publication entitled "Ecce Homo," and accompanied it with a letter, dated in the year of the Carpenter's Wife's Son; now, Sir, Mr. Cobbett has presumed to tell you, that if you wrote under that date in America you would have a suit of "tar and feathers" placed upon you! Did Mr. C. make any exception? Did he not apply to the whole people of the United States? I declare to you, Mr. Carlile, there was no "tar and feathers" in this case, nor do I believe Mr. Cobbett ever had the least authority for such a presumption.

Now, Sir, pray have we not heard Mr. Cobbett declare, that the Americans are a free people, quite independent, and tolerating all opinions? Do not his many encomiums on the state of society in the United States go far to contradict the promises made to you if you pursued the same line of conduct there as here? Certainly he has himself written his

best answer: but I could not refrain from laying this one case in contradiction before the British public; as I felt a wound from his description of the general character of my countrymen in this instance.

I heartily congratulate you, Sir, on the flattering prospect of a speedy promulgation of the principles of the immortal Paine throughout the unprejudiced part of the British people; and, at the same time, look forward with hopes of their being able to act upon them; let these hopes cheer you up in your present situation, and when you are at liberty to face the enemies of humanity and your country, in a more conspicuous point of view, they will animate you to prove, that Liberty wants not the aid of would-be popular men to settle her on a firm and solid foundation. With my greatest respects and well wishes to Mrs. Jane and Miss Mary Ann Carlile, and all incarcerated friends, I subscribe myself yours,

W. H. MYERS.

Note.—The above formed but a small portion of Mr. Myers' Letter, but as the omitted part was an attack upon Mr. Cobbett and Mr. Hunt, upon Republican principles, I have thought it prudent not to give the whole insertion for reasons before stated, or because I wish to exclude all attack of that nature but what I write and sign myself.

I have expected and do now expect that persons acquainted with the United States, or some of the inhabitants of that country, will notice and repel the extreme fanaticism and intolerant character in which Mr. Cobbett has depicted them, by giving me a ride in "tar and feathers."

R. CARLILE.

To the British Patriots and Deists, Holmes, Rhodes, Barkley, Jones, Wright, and the nameless Man, in Newgate, from a Friend to Dumb Animals—6s.

ON THE ABSURDITY OF RELIGION.

(Written for the Republican.)

IN those dark ages of the world, when Religion reigned in all her native gloom and terror, without even a solitary being to oppose her misery-producing progress, the human mind seemed as if it were changed to an unexpressive blank—a lamentable indication that the Priest, with the aid of Religion, can reduce the faculties of man almost to annihilation. If we take a retrospective view of the state of man in those ages we shall perceive that he faithfully observed the duties, implicitly obeyed the dogmas of a supernatural system, founded entirely upon a vague and gratuitous hypothesis, which hath no relation to Nature; nor can we deduce from it any reasonable inference. Yet the Priests, the supporters of Religion, demand the greatest confidence in every creed they hold forth, pretending that Reason may lead us astray; that at best she is but a frail guide; that their holy books are, in every point of view, superior to the productions of man; because, forsooth, Jehovah inspired his Prophets and Saints to write them. But, if we examine these writings, we shall find that their authors were not inspired with talent, with wisdom, or with truth; but, on the contrary, with ignorance, with folly, and the most egregious falsehood. A more absurd and contradictory work never issued from the pen of a modern novel and romance writer. Thousands of men in the present day are both able and willing to write a truer history of the events related in the Bible, and accompany it with reflections more solid and sublime, comprising a better moral code, were they not deterred by the dread of fine, imprisonment, and the most glaring robbery. Still the advocates of Religion are continually eulogising this Book, at the same time vociferating the words—sin, redemption, grace, Jesus Christ, God, glory, and a multitude of other phrases equally unintelligible. They demand that faith the most profound, belief the most conscious, should be given to these fallacious and contradictory doctrines, assuring their deluded hearers that this blind and senseless faith is the certain passport to a heavenly kingdom, which they have fabricated for the base purpose of imposing on them in this.

Thus are they in possession of that which Archimedes only wished for, another world to move this about at their own will and caprice. The saints and disciples of the fictitious Saviour of the World were incessantly preaching about this heavenly Kingdom, this Elysium of the Christians, wherein they were to enjoy uninterrupted felicity in the company of their crucified God; who, when on earth, frequently promised them it should arrive at a stated period: but at the appointed time at which the promises and assurances of

Christ should have been fulfilled, and the hopes of the Jews realized—

"Oh! what a falling off was there!"

No Kingdom of Heaven appeared, consequently the Jews disbelieved the existence of Christ, and rejected the doctrines which his followers held forth; and had it not been for the crafty disposition of Kings and Priests, his name and his system would long ago have been consigned to the shade of oblivion. But I cannot believe that the reality of the Christian tale ever occurred, because history is silent upon the subject. It appears to have been fabricated by prophets, seers, or priests, to enable them to live upon the charity of the credulous multitude. If we attempt to trace its origin, we shall find that the writings of Plato were the source from which, in all probability, it has been drawn; since Plato had depicted a character similar in all its parts. The visionary and delusive doctrine of the immortality of the soul flowed from, or at least was greatly modified by this distinguished dreamer. Probably, the Christian would only say,—Have you read attentively the writings of Plato? I answer, that I have carefully perused some portions of his work, which warrant the conclusions I have drawn. Voltaire says, his works swarm with fables and fictions which abound with notions erroneous and puerile. Lord Byron too, in his *Don Juan*, inveighs very strongly against him and his fabulous theories, thus:

" Oh Plato! Plato! you have paved the way
With your confounded fantasies, to more
Immoral conduct, by the fancied sway
Your systems feign o'er the controlless core
Of human hearts, than all the long array
Of poets and romances;—you're a bore,
A charlatan, a coxcomb, and have been,
At best, no better than a go-between."

But it matters little who were the founders of these fabulous theories, it is sufficient if we can prove them unreasonable and absurd. This has been ably done by various authors; and were they not protected and enforced, by the *iron arm of despotic law*, they would vanish before the increasing power of scientific knowledge, like the dew before the morning sun.

That system must be false and corrupt which needs the aid of fine and imprisonment for its support. If nothing but the most cruel persecution can support Religion from being overwhelmed by the inroads of Science, then, I say, let Science pursue her onward march; let her maintain her peaceable course till Religion loses its power, and persecution falls nerveless to the ground: let the standard of Science and Philosophy be raised in every country of the globe: let the sons of Liberty rally round and support it with all their strength: let them never cease their glorious exertions, until the hideous fabrics of Monarchy and Religion be crumbled into harmless dust, and nothing of them remain but their scattered ruins,

to tell a tale to after ages that they once insu'ted the dignity of man. This state of things must arrive before the sons of Freedom will have gained ought worthy of their sacred name. The exertions of the *intrepid Carlile*, have advanced the standard of Nature and Reason, further than those of any other Englishman of the present day; the principles he so nobly advocates are the only artillery with which we can safely war against *all delusion*. The base of a pure Representative Republic, is the safest ground for man to rest upon, Monarchy hath ever been his greatest foe; but it is a consolation for man, that it is now fast losing ground, being entirely dispossessed of its power in some countries, whilst others are preparing to drag it from its blood-stained throne; where it hath so long reigned in gloomy triumph, over a fallen and degraded world.

Newton, near Manchester, May 14, 1822. EPICURUS.

BOLTON LAW.

So great is the alarm existing among the Hays, the Ethelstones, the Fletchers, and the Hultons, of this town, at the decline of idolatry, that the inhabitants are actually forced into the Church by violence, and the women who remain at home to provide dinner for their families are denied water from the wells during the hours the Priest is holding forth in the Church. The industrious artizan, who is confined to his room or his factory 14 or 16 hours each day for six days, is denied the benefit of fresh air on the seventh, and is threatened with penalties and persecutions if he does not enter the pestilential atmosphere of the Church. This is one way, indeed, to prop Christianity! In the reign of Charles the First, to keep up the farce, the people were allowed to have books of sports and pastimes read to them from the pulpit, and a proclamation was issued by the King that his good people of Lancashire should not be denied the amusement of cock-fighting and bull-baiting on the Sunday. The Blessed Martyr's scheme having failed, the supporters of his successor are trying others, and now, like the Dutch Parson to his sleeping congregation, if the good people of Lancashire will not willingly hear the word of God, they are to be made to feel it, not by throwing the Bible or sermon at their heads, as the Dutchman did, but by putting a sentinel over each of the wells and over each infidel, and forced into

the Church to see that he listens!! Go on, Priests, and, above all, you the respectable unpaid Magistracy, do your duties, and Christianity shall not fall!

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Letter from Mr. Thomas Shepherd, of Huddersfield, has been received, and shall be duly noticed with the last of Mr. Humphrey's.

Total amount of subscriptions towards Mr. Carlile's fines up to May 18, 1822—£541. 11s. 1d.

END OF APPENDIX TO VOL. V.

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